

# THE WORLD

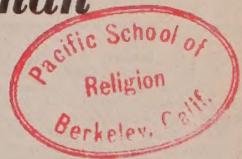
# TOMORROW

## SOCIALISM'S WAY OUT

*Kirby Page*

## Professor Ward on Communism

*A Review by Eduard C. Lindeman*



## Austria In Crisis

*Donald Grant*

**APRIL 5th**

**10 cents a copy, \$3.00 a year**

**WHO ARE THE  
DEFEATISTS?**

*Ralph H. Read*

same category at all. Inflation relieves the tension between a credit structure which is out of proportion to the property structure. Deflation expropriates the holders of equities against the holders of bonds and mortgages. Inflation expropriates the holders of bonds and mortgages by permitting the payment of these debts through cheapened currency. If the *Christian Century* were right about its theory of inflation, Germany ought to have become a socialist state after its complete inflationary movement of 1923. It redistributed wealth but did not equalize it. In fact, it centralized it. Anyone who had enough property to furnish collateral could use the inflationary movement to consolidate his economic power.

Socialism is not brought about as easily as the liberals believe. In their confusion they usually mistake the fires of fascism for the dawn of socialism. The confusion is rather pathetic.

### Not All Hitler's Fault

While Germany is going through the crucial and agonizing experiences of the present time, we do not lose sight of the fact that Hitlerism in all its manifestations is the enemy of most things for which we strive; our emphasis, then, will not cease to be placed upon the right spot in our discussion of German problems. Yet, as a journal committed to the Socialist movement, it devolves upon us to learn, and to point out, even at such a time as this, what lessons are apparent in the collapse of working-class power throughout the Reich. We have asserted many times before that the program and policies of the German Social-Democrats could hardly fail to eventuate in their submersion, informed as these have constantly been in recent years by timidity, confusion, compromise, and an almost millennial trust in the emergence of socialism, as it were, by a blind process of nature, all handicaps and obstacles notwithstanding.

If anything were needed to vindicate that view, it is the manifesto issued by the Social-Democrats immediately after the triumphant Hitler election. Through it runs the sound satisfaction that may well be enjoyed at the remarkable manner in which, despite terrorism and crookedness, the loss of the party was only 135,000 votes. But also running through it, with a perversity that almost compels to despair, is an unrealistic optimism, coupled with the most trivial and reckless reliance upon the legal machinery of the capitalist state even when that machinery is indubitably working with deliberate disregard of law and justice. Says the manifesto:

Our first word must be a word of thanks and admiration. Under the most trying circumstances you have kept your ranks unbroken. At the critical period our newspapers were not allowed to appear, our meetings were prohibited, our leaders went in peril of life and limb, the party and its officers were basely calumniated. A singular outrage, the burn-

ing of the Reichstag building, mobilized the masses of the non-politically-minded and blinded their judgment.

You stood firm. The party remains unbroken, tried in battle, still ready for the fray. Your ranks are steadier than ever. The near future will make still greater demands upon the Social-Democrats of Germany. We are equal to them. The fight to reconquer the liberties of the working-class movement and its political rights still goes on. This election does not represent the will of the people. The Special Court for the trial of election petitions will have to decide whether the conditions for a free election were fulfilled.

The party must remain true to itself! We remain what we have always been: the pioneers of the working class in the conquest of political liberty, in the ending of capitalist exploitation and in the building of the Socialist Commonwealth. **Freedom!**

We shall watch with profound sympathy all the events in Germany under the heavy hand of Adolf Hitler; but with special concern, of course, the difficulties that will make matters almost intolerably hard for all the German Marxians. To point out the weakness and pitiable evasion of reality in the above manifesto is not at all to indicate a belief that German communism is any more realistic or capable. But if reason were required to show why a separate and radical German Socialist Workers' Party was recently formed as a means of injecting realism and the ideology of struggle in the German movement to prevent its utter descent into Pollyannism, the events of the last few trying weeks have given them. Almost every sentence of the last two paragraphs in this manifesto, judging at least by present signs in Germany, is untrue. The movement, its 7,000,000 supporters notwithstanding, is being crushed, the means of its support being wiped out, and everything points to a duplication in the Reich of Mussolini's labor policies in fascist Italy. The bitterness of truth is often hard to bear; but scarcely harder than a socialist leadership that attempts to lift the movement by its bootstraps.

### Two Important Cases

After the two years which have elapsed since their alleged crime the nine Scottsboro Negroes accused of rape are being brought to trial by the State of Alabama. During the first trial, which took place amid passionate emotion and racial bigotry, eight of the Negroes were convicted and sentenced to die in the electric chair; the United States Supreme Court, however, intervened and ordered a new trial. The elements involved in the second trial, which will be held at Decatur, are complicated, and no less so are the currents of popular opinion. Alabama, which in one or two recent cases involving Negroes has officially shown a disposition to rise above race prejudice, still seethes with dislike of the "outsiders" who come down from the North to defend these boys; injected into the situation is the prevailing animosity toward com-

munism. Yet the International Labor Defense, whatever its earlier errors, has rallied vigorously and to-day constitutes perhaps the chief legal hope of the accused. The case is celebrated in much the same way as the Sacco-Vanzetti case, because a host of unbiased investigators have concluded that the whole affair was a rank frame-up on the conventional Jim Crow lines. Not a little appears to hinge upon the recent disappearance of Ruby Bates, one of the alleged victims; a hard-fought question will be centered in her previous testimony, which the defense will insist must be ruled out and which the prosecution will of course undertake to preserve.

While the Scottsboro Negroes are facing a grave crisis along with Alabama justice itself, Tom Mooney's friends have injected a surprise into this second *cause célèbre*. Mooney was convicted on one indictment, but a second one was dropped. A new trial has now been granted on the old untried indictment, and this will afford a golden opportunity for Mooney's defenders to bring out the striking falsehoods, inconsistencies, and prejudice which ruled over his first farcical trial, as well as to arouse public opinion anew to the incredible miscarriage of justice that has made Mooney's name known around the world, to the shame of the American legal system. Foes of freedom for Mooney are now complaining that the new trial will be nothing but a stage setting, with the outcome foreknown. But if this is true, what could be a sterner indictment of the hypocrisy and political chicanery that have, from the first, characterized this unsavory episode?

### The President's Farm Program

Most of the objections against the farm bill are ill-taken. It is true that it is designed to benefit one class, the farmers. But this is neither wrong nor unusual. On the contrary, the mass of the farmers have been so injured by the tariff that they need some compensatory legislation to atone for the damage. It is moreover impossible to benefit all groups equally in any one act. Nor is the objection that it vests too much power in the Secretary of Agriculture a valid criticism. The administrative features of the domestic allotment plan, involving control over acreage, are necessarily complicated, and it is advisable to leave broad discretionary powers in the hands of the Department of Agriculture. With Henry Wallace at its head, and with Mordecai Ezekiel and Rexford Tugwell as his assistants, we may be sure that such powers as are given will be competently exercised.

The bill is designed to raise the prices of farm products so that they will exchange for the pre-war quantity of city goods. It aims to do this by taxing the processors of farm products the requisite amounts on the various commodities and then distributing these sums among the farmers who have reduced their

acreage by the proportions specified. A new and important feature of the bill is the power given to the government to lease some of the poorer land and remove it from cultivation. There will thus be a much larger proportion of the poor than of the good land which will go out of use.

It will be seen that the bill aims to do for agriculture, with government aid, what the Swope plan proposed for industry. Farming is to be organized in commodity cartels and production is to be limited in order to insure higher prices to the producers. If any class is deserving of such aid it is most certainly the farmers, since they have suffered from the inelastic demand for their products which, as output has increased, has caused the price per unit to fall still more rapidly, so that for a larger total crop the farmers have received a smaller total price.

At the same time, the measure illustrates the most probable form social planning will take in a capitalistic society. It will be planning in the interest of the owners of production rather than the consumers. It will limit production instead of expanding it, and it will fix maximum quotas to be produced instead of minimum amounts, as would be the case in a socialized society. It may rescue some industries from competitive anarchy, but it will do so at the expense of the general public. The domestic allotment scheme is an example of this sort of social planning. It will not create additional purchasing power. It will merely transfer it, and that largely from the pockets of the depressed wage-earners of the cities to those of the depressed farmers of the countryside. It will be robbing Peter to pay Paul.

While, therefore, the domestic allotment bill may be a necessary transitional measure, it should not be regarded as an adequate or permanent solution of the farm problem. It is inferior to an international reduction of tariffs which would permit our exports to be increased and prices thus to be raised naturally. We can only hope that President Roosevelt will be successful in negotiating such a general reduction, which will once again permit the advantages of an international division of labor to be realized with benefit to virtually all classes. But this hope, we confess, is rather weak in view of the tide of economic nationalism which rises ever higher in Europe. Certainly, however, we should see that capitalistic planning is not enough and that we need socialistic planning in the interests of consumers. We should plan for plenty rather than for scarcity, and it is more than ironical to limit rigorously the food supplies in a nation of hungry men. A far better way is to build up the purchasing power of the consumers so that they might buy at a decent price the products of the farm. To do that will involve a very real change in our economic life. But it is there that the hope lies for the farmers as well as for the rest of us.

## More Reasons for Socialized Banking

A survey of the banking situation published by the *Associated Press* on March 26 shows that 3,411 banks throughout the country have not yet been permitted to open since the banking holiday, of which 1,549 are Federal Reserve members. Some states are much harder hit than others, and the proportion of non-member banks still closed in certain states is as follows: Illinois, 303 open out of 684; Michigan, 148 out of 330; Minnesota, 307 out of 545; North Carolina, 163 out of 363; Ohio, 329 out of 485. *The total amount of deposits in the banks still closed is approximately six billion dollars*, reports Mark Sullivan in the *New York Herald Tribune*.

In spite of this tragic story of banks that are still closed, much alarm is being shown in Wall Street over the alleged fact that many unsound banks have been permitted to open. Dr. H. Parker Willis, former Secretary of the Federal Reserve System, in the *New York World-Telegram* on March 25 wrote as follows:

The time seems clearly to have come when we ought to pause long enough to tell ourselves at least a part of the truth about the course of recent events in banking. There is no longer the slightest reason to doubt that many banks, both member and non-member, have been opened that could not have been licensed under any strict interpretation of the assurances of the government. The fact may as well be stated in public. . . . The question is therefore very properly asked—indeed it must be asked—who is to come to the rescue of the Reserve banks when they have become completely waterlogged with frozen loans made to a wide assortment of member and non-member banks struggling to remain open in circumstances anything but favorable? . . . What is needed is an early announcement of the program of permanent bank legislation.

Yea verily! And the probability is remote that a satisfactory reorganization of the entire banking sys-

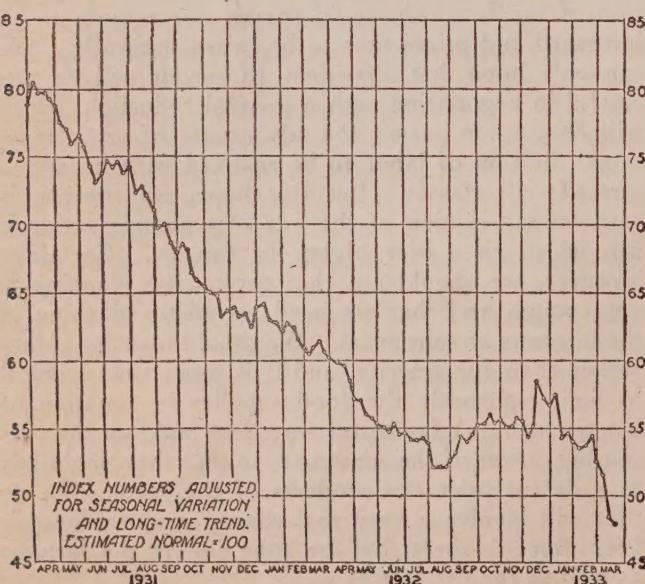
tem will be brought about under the present regime. The Administration's program for permanent banking legislation is summarized in the current issue of *The Business Week* as follows: separation of security affiliates from commercial banks; restriction of the type of securities in which banks may invest depositors' funds; additional disciplinary powers for the Federal Reserve; unification—that is, compulsory membership in the Federal Reserve; and branch banking, to be extended by slow steps. If this maximum program is really inaugurated, the chief result will be to strengthen the giant banking houses and to fasten capitalism more firmly about our necks. The efforts of liberal Democrats to pluck the fangs and clip the claws of the profit system and to present us with a gentle and harmless capitalism are doomed to failure. Must we be plunged into utter financial chaos before we take the imperatively demanded step of bringing the banking system under public ownership and operation?

With more than three thousand banks still closed and six billion dollars in deposits still tied up, the picture of the situation presented in the latest issue of the *Guaranty Survey*, published by the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, deserves a place in the believe-it-or-not column: "Reports that have been received from all parts of the country since the banks began to reopen indicate that the delicate process of resuming normal operations has been carried out with general success. . . . Business men who, a few weeks ago, regarded the future with vague foreboding are now discussing the prospects for business recovery with a new feeling of confidence in the essential soundness of the nation's financial structure. . . . Such an abrupt transition from panic to renewed hope probably has no parallel in financial history." So says one of our best minds! But the average reader is still troubled by the lingering doubts as he studies the accompanying business index which appeared originally in the *New York Times*.

## The American Tory Party

Last fall a considerable proportion of liberal churchmen throughout the East, North and West enthusiastically supported the Republican Party, and this action was in line with the general practice of religious leaders, outside the Solid South, for many decades past. Thus we have been confronted with the spectacle of the churches lining up behind the party which has long been and still is economically the most reactionary of American political faiths. To religious-minded Republicans we commend an article by James Truslow Adams in the spring issue of the *Yale Review*, from which we have taken these illuminating sentences:

The position of the Republican Party is clear. It is distinctly the conservative or tory party. . . . It is therefore no



insult to the Republican Party to state the fact that, in spite of certain reforms into which it has from time to time been goaded, it is essentially the "stand-pat" party of wealth, privilege, and toryism. . . . Moreover, the Republican Party, has been emphatically that of "big business" and the one to which business looked for favors. . . . We are entering one of those periods in a nation's history in which the most genuinely conservative guides will be found among the liberals and not among the conservatives; for, as Hobhouse has well said, "to maintain an old order under changed circumstances may be, in fact, to initiate a revolution."

We are pleased to put this utterance into the record for future consideration of erstwhile Republicans who are now bowing down at the feet of the candidate they damned so lustily in November. Some months hence the country is likely to be disillusioned concerning the prospect of salvation at the hands of the Democratic Party. In that hour we devoutly hope that churchmen in turning despairingly from liberalism will not put their trust in conservatism, but will rather espouse the constructive radicalism of the Socialist Party.

### Youth Has Not Sold Out

When the World War came to an end—its theoretical end at least—a wave of protest swept across the younger minds of the world and a great rise of youth movements in almost every corner of the globe raised to fever pitch the hopes and enthusiasm of the older generation. The most extravagant expectations were voiced by intellectual leaders such as H. G. Wells, Romain Rolland and many others. Youth was to brush aside the old failures and open up new pathways to deliverance. But then came the rise of fascism, which in Italy and Germany and elsewhere caught up in its toils countless youth in the universities; while in Great Britain and the United States the youth movements, which had never taken strong hold on the imagination of the young in those lands, gave way to a current fad for cynical abstention from serious national and world affairs. This shift was accompanied by disillusionment among the elders, who proceeded in some cases to castigate youth with all the fervor they previously had used in its laudation. Neither extreme, obviously, was warranted.

But, if anything, a revival of youthful radicalism is to be noted in Britain and America, regardless of what is taking place under the heel of fascism. Of especial note is the extension of the pacifist rebellion in British universities on which we commented editorially three weeks ago. The movement of refusal to fight "for King and country" brought stern objection on the part of sentimental Oxford graduates, but the net result of their descent on the university to effect a retraction by the Oxford Union was only a reaffirmation of pacifism by a larger vote than before—this time 750 to 138! Similar trends have startled the authori-

ties in Glasgow, Manchester, Nottingham and Leicester, and at University College in Wales. And the end is not yet.

But those who have been close to youth in this country know, too, how many are today dedicating themselves to the task of drastic social change, both with regard to war and economics. To our office, not long ago, came the son of a steel manufacturer, eager to obtain light on his personal ambition to transform his father's factories from a rather selfish type of capitalism to a workers' plant. Another, the son of the head of a vast insurance company, upon inheriting leadership after his father's death, is studying how he can soundly change the whole firm from a capitalist basis to a socialized concern. A young woman, whose father is the owner of a huge textile mill employing thousands of hands under conditions which reflect no credit on the "humanitarian" aspects of capitalism, is setting grimly to work at the job of understanding the complete mill problem, both technique and management, so that eventually, when the opportunity comes, she will be prepared for the socialization of this industrial unit. All of these projects, which are only a few among many similar ones that we could cite, may fail of realization. But there is enough of this spirit in the land to confound those who assume that youth has completely succumbed to the lure of power and profits and will meekly agree to follow in the footsteps of the elders.

A case of no little interest which admirably illustrates this rebellion of youth is the fight the Syracuse, New York, high school students recently made in protest against the introduction of militarist talks into their schools, with official approval, in an effort to swing the pupils behind the advocates of the C. M. T. C. and a general program of heavy military preparedness. Asserting their full right to hear peace and anti-preparedness discussions to offset the propaganda of the militaristic groups, a live band of students, having secured the aid of prominent liberals in the city, inaugurated a campaign to secure signatures to a petition demanding that as long as the War Department was permitted to assign speakers to the schools, opposing spokesmen should also be given identical propaganda privileges. Their hope of obtaining a thousand signers was more than realized, and no fewer than 1400 signatures were appended when the document was finally placed in the hands of Dr. G. Carl Alverson, superintendent of schools. There is a fair chance that this action will force the school authorities either to abandon their patronage of militarists or else provide the equal opportunities requested. At any rate, these students of Syracuse have demonstrated anew that the War Department, although equipped with funds and a vast propaganda machine, cannot rule the educational process and expect to go unchallenged.

# Recovering Lost Millions

PROFESSOR EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN of Columbia University discusses the abolition of the exempt feature of government bonds in the *Political Science Quarterly* for March. He points out that at present there are outstanding some 33 billion dollars of national, state and local bonds that are exempt from taxation, and that at an average return of four per cent the interest paid on these securities totals one and a quarter billions. The amount of tax that could be levied upon this sum is unknown since it would be determined by the proportion held by persons subject to the higher rates in the upper brackets, but Professor Seligman hazards the guess that the average rate under the present schedule would be from 15 to 20 per cent, thus yielding some 200 millions of additional revenue. This amount could be increased by another 200 millions if the rates on all incomes above \$5,000 were stiffened sufficiently.

Concerning the wisdom of a constitutional amendment abolishing the tax exemption of government securities, Professor Seligman says: "As we pointed out many years ago, the legal decisions which have fastened upon us the exemption of state securities from federal taxation were based upon economic fallacies and misunderstandings; and the exemption by the federal government of its own securities is both unnecessary and in the long run unjustifiable. . . . Moreover we all remember the attempt made by Secretary Mellon a decade ago to bring about" the abolition of tax exemption.

Support for this idea is found in an editorial in the *American Bankers Association Journal* for March, in these words: "If it is possible to do away with tax exemption now enjoyed by various issues of securities . . . that move is the one which, it may be discovered, is most desired." This same financial journal discusses the question as to whether a constitutional amendment could remove the tax exemption privilege from securities which have already been issued with that provision, in this language: "The truth is, however, that by amendment to the constitution income from securities now tax exempt most certainly could be taxed. . . ." The demand for such a constitutional amendment is rapidly gaining strength in and out of Congress.

An illuminating booklet\* on this general theme has recently been published by John Willard Roberts, a certified public accountant, in which attention is called to the fact that an even greater leakage occurs than

the loss occasioned by tax exemption of government bonds. Mr. Roberts writes:

That hole is a piker compared with the really big one through which billions of revenue have been escaping. In enacting the present law, Congress thought it was imposing a heavy tax by running the surtax up to 55 per cent. But that rate is not a tax. It is a mere gesture, for practically nobody pays it. Every wealthy man nowadays has his private corporation into which he has put all his investments. That private corporation may receive a million dollars of dividends but receives them exempt from tax. They are not taxable income when received by a corporation. The income on which a surtax has to be paid is only the dividend that the wealthy man causes his private corporation to declare to himself. . . . The other great hole lies in the tax rate on corporations. Income earned by a corporation and not distributed in dividends is sure to be invested. . . . And yet we are only taxing it less than a quarter of the maximum rate.

Mr. Roberts suggests that the example of England be followed and corporation income be taxed at the highest of all income tax rates, credits or refunds being made to individuals for the amount paid at the source. By this device the government would be able to impose a net income tax of, say, four per cent on the income derived from corporation dividends by a person in a lower bracket, and 50 per cent on the income derived from the same corporation by an immensely rich man. This provision would enable the government to collect high rates on the huge reserves piled up by great corporations.

It is not easy to exaggerate the social importance of closing up the crevices through which billions in untaxed income are now flowing. Both as a means of securing urgently needed revenue and as a method of strengthening taxation as an instrument of social policy, all income from every source, personal and corporate, should be taxed. It is equally imperative that a stop be put to evasions of inheritance taxation, in the form of gifts and other transfers of wealth. Moreover, the rates in the upper brackets of bequests should be made progressively severe. Hundreds of millions in lost revenue can easily be recovered whenever the voters so determine.

If the citizens of this country ever take seriously the task of equalizing economic privilege, taxation affords an effective instrument of social policy. Indeed, legal limits may be placed upon the maximum income and the maximum inheritance without any constitutional change or revolutionary measure, except a revolution in thought on the part of the voters. The complete abolition of tax exemption is socially imperative.

\* *Building Permanent Prosperity*, by John Willard Roberts, 528 Munro Avenue, Mamaroneck, New York.

# Professor Ward on Communism

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN

I HAVE completed the reading of another book about Soviet Russia.\* It is the sort of volume which furnishes immediate stimulation in two directions: it leads toward reflection and toward discussion. At this moment I call it an impressive, in fact a notable, piece of writing. Its significance lies in its intention. Professor Ward set forth to examine the Russian revolution with a focused aim in mind: he wanted to discover what happens to human incentives and motives under a communistic regime—the most important question, I believe, which may now be asked concerning this bold attempt to redirect human energies.

Professor Ward carried with him a rare combination of personal traits, including a sound knowledge of economic theory and fact, a fearless mind, and a predisposition to find more rights than wrongs, more good than evil. In addition he was himself motivated by that unique form of American idealism which is peculiarly nourished by a socialized conception of Christianity. My inclination is to make an initial inventory of the factual, intellectual, and emotional cargo with which he returned from his voyage and which he has now presented to an American public.

Here is an amazing body of social facts set down not in statistical fashion but as straightforward description or statement of opinion. Professor Ward paints a portrait of a vast, collectivized state in which men and women and children spend their energies in striving toward social rather than individual goals. It appears that the bulk of the impulsive life of contemporary Russians is caught up by and channeled into organized forms. Economic behavior is conditioned by trade unions, soviets, coöperatives, shock brigades, organizations of shock workers (komsomol), collective farms (kolhozes) and many other collectivistic units. Besides, there exists another level of organized action represented by societies for promoting auto roads, anti-religion, anti-alcohol, the welfare of children, air and gas defense, etc.

The Five Year Plan may be said to be the organizing principle of Russia's functional collectivism, the inclusive goal toward which the others contribute. But there are also numerous less-functional social forms, such as the Society of Militant Dialectical Materialists, the purpose of which is to furnish a philosophical base for this dizzying array of socialized activity. There is a point here which needs to be noted: Ameri-

cans probably engage in as much, if not more, collective action than do communistic Russians, but they do so without a supporting collectivist philosophy; they act in groups but adhere to an individualistic explanation of their conduct and their goals. Incentives are being altered in Soviet Russia, according to Professor Ward, chiefly because these newer communists are learning to act, to think, and to feel as though the social whole were greater than any of its individual parts. The transition is not so much in the direction of devising new incentives as in utilizing older ones for new purposes; not a transmutation of incentives but a redirection of aim. Capitalists work and produce goods—for profit; communists work and produce goods—for use. Capitalists expend energy in order to advance their individual interest; communists expend energy in order to serve others. Capitalists compete with each other for the purpose of gain; communists compete with each other in order to enhance the welfare of all.

THE revolution has enabled Russians to eliminate certain so-called capitalistic incentives entirely, to put new content into many which they still utilize, and to develop new types. In short, the revolution became a sort of psychological ferment which has rendered human motivations flexible; upon the degree of flexibility depends the success or failure of the communist demonstration. There exist two troublesome constants which Professor Ward recognizes but which do not in any sense check his enthusiasm. He writes: "In actual operation the change of course is not so simple. The same forces have moved the children of men to action from the beginning of time, and will continue to move them until the end of days. . . . What changes, from age to age, is the form and order and proportion in which they are used." This is the constant known as human nature, that stubborn, recalcitrant element which has bedeviled the lives of all idealists.

The other factor which makes fluidity difficult is the communist doctrine itself. "The vision of the future that is given to Soviet youth is authoritative and consistent." Professor Ward might have gone even further; he might have pointed out the apparent fact that communism represents the most rigid form of social authority which has thus far appeared in the modern world. Its rigidity is its strength; once one has accepted this doctrine as enunciated by Marx, Engels and Lenin, one becomes subject to an intellectual and behavioristic discipline which creates undeviating fi-

\* *In Place of Profit: Social Incentives in the Soviet Union*, by Harry F. Ward. With Drawings by Lynd Ward. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 460 pages. \$2.50.

delity. So runs the theory. But it is my conviction that actual experience under any doctrine of rigorous constraint operates differently. If the strength of contemporary communism lies in its theoretical inflexibility, its weakness lies in the probability that the compulsions of action may change behavior while ideas remain static. Professor Ward thinks otherwise and argues that revolutionary philosophy allows for continuing cycles of solidity and fluidity. Here he, like all Marxists, invokes the famous Hegelian trilogy of thesis, antithesis and synthesis.

Returning to our psychological problem, what methods are utilized by Russian communists for the purpose of creating and sustaining socialized incentives? There are many, but I shall confine myself to a selection from Professor Ward's thorough-going list. Communists in Russia propose to canalize human energies in the direction of social, as distinguished from individual, goals by: (1) furnishing workers with economic security; (2) improving their material conditions of living; (3) cultivating a social sense of ownership; (4) developing positive attitudes toward work; (5) rewarding inventiveness; (6) substituting the pressure of social approval for economic prestige; (7) providing opportunities for sharing in creative purposes; (8) encouraging socialistic competition (emulation), the aim of which is to out-distance capitalistic nations in technical and industrial proficiency; (9) permitting workers to participate in the setting of standards and in self-evaluation; (10) supplying continuing facilities for education; (11) orienting workers creatively within a vital culture; (12) implementing mass initiative; and, (13) supplying the workers with objects upon which to concentrate their hatred. Professor Ward does not merely mention these incentive conditioners, but he illustrates these and many others by experiences and observations of his own. (I have not attempted to place his categories within a graded hierarchy, but it would certainly be my disposition to place economic security at the top and the cultivation of hatred at the bottom of such a list.)

Enough has been said to indicate that I have enjoyed the reading of this book. I should be lacking in professional candor if, after so much commendation, I should refrain entirely from mentioning my misgivings and critical reflections. Reading is made unnecessarily difficult by the introduction of numerous quotations printed in italics. In a random selection of ten pages there are 190 lines of straight type and 130 lines of italics. The publisher should, perhaps, be held responsible for this, but I finished the volume with a distinct feeling that it might have stood a bit more steadily upon Harry Ward's observations and opinions than upon the ubiquitous *obiter dicta* of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Molotov, Radek and others. The Russian experiment is jeopardized as much by its uncritical

friends as by its unreflective opponents. My chief misgiving concerning *In Place of Profit* is that to the critical-minded it may sound too good to be true.

### Wild Geese

HIGH, high, and far away,  
Over the country lanes and town,  
The wild geese, at close of day,  
Are crying the sunset down.

Travelers of the airy skies,  
Half-lost in evening's golden dust,  
Naming in their plaintive cries  
The heart's wild wanderlust.

MARION DOYLE

### Gandhi Speaks

AT last I am a tsar;  
One word from me—  
And millions obey;  
Obey in gladness as they would  
An inner voice within.

I've curbed my lust;  
I've trained my fear,  
And overcome my pride.  
I've conquered desire for wealth,  
For idle friendship and for fame.

Through years and years of suffering,  
Defeat of my most cherished dreams,  
Communion with the poor,  
And meditation in God's fields,  
I've shaken off most earthly chains.

I am a tsar, although no army corps  
And no obsequious lying herd  
My freedom mar,  
Or stand between my people and me.

I rule by word alone,  
Require no citizenship oath,  
Cannot enforce commands,  
Or punish disobedient sons.

For I am the substratum pure,  
The essence of the best in men,  
And when they follow me,  
They but obey in truth  
An inner voice within.

VLADIMIR KARAPETOFF

# A Socialist Program of Deliverance

KIRBY PAGE

**S**OCIALISTS are convinced that the goal of an equalitarian society cannot be reached by any short or easy route, and that many steps must be taken progressively before a just social order can be attained. But it must be admitted that when expressed in an extreme form the doctrine of gradualness often serves as an excuse for evasion or snail-like social velocity. Equally perilous, on the other hand, is the cataclysmic theory of social transformation. Sudden and sweeping and vital changes in a complex and interdependent economic system produce chaos and devastation. The tempo of the Russian revolution in highly industrialized and urbanized countries like Germany, England, or the United States, would utterly demolish the productive machine and lead to social retrogression. So it seems to me that the wisest course is that of *rapidly progressive non-warlike revolution*. That is to say, reduce to a minimum all entanglements with capitalism, keep eyes eagerly fastened on the goal of socialism, avoid the illusion of utopia-via-violent-cataclysmic-revolution, and step forward vigorously along the pathway of socialist policies.

Throughout socialist literature there runs an emphasis upon the desirability of bridging the chasm between super-privilege and under-privilege. To this end supplementing and restricting are both required. Abundance at the top is not warranted so long as destitution prevails at the bottom. *Rapid movement toward equality is conditioned upon the progressive transfer from private control to social ownership of the major means of production and distribution*, because members of the group which controls the primary sources of wealth appropriate rich prizes for themselves, while defrauding and exploiting the workers.

Socialization is likewise demanded in the interest of greater productivity, and at this point it is important to direct attention to the two types of industrial efficiency. There is first the output of men and machines on the local job, and second the science of coordination among countless productive units. *Capitalism has scored impressive victories in the former area, and has failed miserably in the latter field*. Even the gigantic size of modern corporations has not made possible effective teamwork among producers and distributors. So long as the chief instruments of production are owned privately, social planning on an adequate scale will be frustrated. A tragic volume of unemployment and poverty will continue until social ownership of the

vital industries makes possible the scientific coordination of raw resources, mechanical power, human energy, and the consumptive capacity of the entire population.

There is general agreement among Socialists that various units of our economic system should be socialized in somewhat the following order: banking and credit, waterpower, coal, oil and other sources of mechanical energy, railways and other primary means of transportation, telephone, telegraph, radio, minerals and other natural resources, land, and progressively the vital heavy industries.

**C**ONCERNING the method of socialization, *outright confiscation* is repudiated on pragmatic and ethical grounds, and *purchase* is advocated. The former policy could be carried out only by means of a prolonged and calamitous civil war. Purchase at a fair price is practicable whenever supported by an adequate volume of public opinion, and the amounts thus paid out would soon revert to the public treasury, in the form of income tax and inheritance tax payments. The speed of this\* recapture would be determined by the rates of taxation in the higher brackets, and practically the entire amount could be recovered within a generation if society should so determine. There is no reason whatever to believe that the owning class would offer armed resistance to this process, and, indeed, the accumulated experience of many countries is to the contrary.

The success of the Socialist program depends utterly upon the rapid elimination of private property in the chief instruments of production and distribution, looking toward its complete abolition at the earliest possible moment. Education and organization for socialization are all-important. Socialists therefore stress the importance of a triple organization: of workers in a powerful labor movement, of consumers in a cooperative movement, and of voters in a Socialist party. It may be that the consumers' cooperative movement is destined to play a minor role in the transformation of capitalism in the United States, but certainly the pace of progress toward an equalitarian society will be determined by the strength of the labor movement and the power of a Socialist party founded upon the philosophy of increasing private property in consumers' goods and eliminating private property in the vital instruments of production.

Socialization is retarded by the centralization of money power in the hands of industrialists and financiers who mobilize the agencies of public opinion in

\* This is the last of a series of four articles analyzing the American scene and the prospects for the future.

support of vested interests. Consequently it is highly important that steps be taken to limit income and wealth, while raising the standard of living of the masses. Bridging the gulf between the rich and poor therefore serves the double purpose of relieving the volume of destitution and accentuating the pace toward socialization. The following fifteen-point program is directed toward this dual end:

1. Huge appropriations for unemployment relief by federal, state and local governments are imperatively needed. For the immediate future, certainly, the volume of suffering occasioned by involuntary unemployment will continue to be so colossal as to demand outright grants from governments to supplement the diminishing resources of private charity.

2. Federal subsidies to farmers, temporarily at least, are required to save agriculture from the desperate plight into which it has fallen. Subsidies are objectionable in principle, but a nation which has long subsidized manufacturing interests through tariffs and in other ways can afford to rescue its rural population.

3. Drastic scaling down of debts is absolutely necessary. The consequent injustice that will be done to the creditor class will be mild in contrast to the manner in which debtors are now being victimized.

4. Substantial reductions in taxes on small holdings and on meager incomes are urgently needed.

5. The raising of several billion dollars through a federal bond issue for the purpose of putting the unemployed to work in rebuilding the slums, erecting dikes and dams, reforestation, and in other constructive enterprises is essential.

6. Social insurance covering sickness, accidents, old age, maternity cases, and unemployment possesses immense significance. Reserves for these purposes are more essential than for the payment of dividends and interest in slack times.

7. The minimum wage and the family wage are necessary to prevent sweatshop cut-throat competition and the providing of a minimum standard of decency and comfort.

8. The complete abolition of child labor by state and federal statutes would greatly strengthen the power of the working class, while preventing the exploitation of defenseless boys and girls.

9. The reduction of working hours, without decreasing wages, will, by spreading employment, bring increased incomes to the workers in general.

10. A rapid extension of free public privileges in the areas of education, art, music, recreation, and health would make possible a much higher standard of life for the mass of citizens.

11. Progressively heavy taxation of the rich will serve the double purpose of providing funds with which to make available these additional free public privileges and at the same time helping to break the stranglehold of the super-privileged upon the under-privileged.

12. Rigorous control of public utilities, semi-public utilities, and other corporate practices by official regulatory bodies will aid in reducing rates to the consumers, and in limiting excessive profits, prior to the time when such industries will be fully socialized.

13. Eternal vigilance against encroachments upon freedom of speech, press, and assembly is demanded in order that minority groups may have ample opportunities to promote their ideas.

14. The abandonment of the policy of bestowing special privileges upon manufacturers and financiers in the form of subsidies from tariffs and the opportunities for exploitation in foreign lands furnished by the marines and other methods of armed intervention is highly imperative.

15. The total disarmament of all armed forces maintained for action against other nations would result in the saving of six or eight billion dollars per decade, and this amount could then be devoted to the provision of innumerable public privileges for all the people.

IT IS necessary, however, not only to enumerate the proposals which if widely accepted would diminish substantially the degree of privation, while weakening the power of the owning class, but also to face the question as to how such a program may be progressively inaugurated. *Without doubt the primary factor in advancing these policies will be the breakdown or disintegration of capitalist efficiency.* The increasing complexity and interdependence of the various units of modern industry make it more and more impossible for private owners to secure the coordination required for efficient production and distribution. Even if capitalism in the United States is able to recover temporarily and bring about a return to prosperity on the pre-crash-of-1929 level—and this is a wholly improbable eventuality—the volume of unemployment will still be enormous, the workers will be unable to buy back that which they have produced and another depression will occur, and there is basis for the fear that subsequent lean years will produce even more terrific havoc than has ever been true in the past.

The cumulative evidence is sufficient to warrant the assertion that a rapidly increasing degree of social control is absolutely inevitable in an industrial society of ever-increasing complexity. But it is equally important to realize that there are many types of social control, ranging from iron rule under reactionary Fascists to dictatorship under revolutionary Communists. That is why Socialists are apprehensive concerning the strategy of liberal Democrat-Republicans. *Movement toward social control that is not consciously directed toward equality of economic privilege through the transfer of the major means of production from private control to public ownership may easily be diverted into directions that will more firmly entrench*

vested interests. Not aimless temporizing with the excesses of capitalism, but vigorously sustained efforts to undermine confidence in its economic validity and ethical justification are demanded. Effective socialist education must therefore be continuously directed toward the creation of public sentiment for socialized property and the channeling of that desire into appropriate action.

RECENT events in Germany and Italy make especially pertinent two questions put to me by Professor Harry F. Ward, the first one being this: "If the reactionaries prevent the workers from using the constitutional means of approach to social change, what would you do and what would you advise the workers to do?" My answer is that while Socialists are pacifists and repudiate violent class war, they have never bound themselves to stay within legal and constitutional limits. The chief exponent of non-violent coercion, Mahatma Gandhi, glories in his rejection of legality, as interpreted by the ruling class of imperialists. Legality is only a name for the rules which have been established by those who sit in seats of power, and Socialists have never made a fetish of obedience to law. Many immoral practices are legal, and many moral requirements are illegal. All genuine pacifists are emancipated from worship of statutes, and are willing to go to prison rather than to obey a law that requires killing of enemies.

If the German Social Democrats had refused ever to support a coalition government, had refused to endorse or rely upon President Hindenburg, and had been prepared to declare a general strike in opposition to a Fascist dictatorship, they might have been successful. One hesitates to make the dogmatic assertion that they would have been triumphant, because the reactionary opposition was powerfully organized and dominated the army, and in all probability controlled a majority of the police units. Even if a general strike had temporarily frustrated the Fascist attempt to seize power, the more difficult decision would have remained of endeavoring to conduct the government along parliamentary lines or to establish a workers' dictatorship. In the latter case the Nazis and other conservative-reactionaries would surely have put forth armed resistance, leading to civil war.

The second question was of this order: "If after social change has been effected constitutionally the reactionaries organize to restore the old order by force and violence, what would you advise the workers to do?" Three general answers to this question are possible: passivity, armed resistance, and non-warlike resistance. The reasons why I reject the first of these proposals have been set forth in my two previous articles of this series, which appeared in the issues of this magazine of March 1 and March 8. I have likewise expounded at some length my reasons for believing

that, in a highly industrialized and urbanized community, armed warfare along class lines—including warlike resistance to attacks by reactionaries—can only result in mass slaughter, catastrophic demolition of the productive and distributive system, and utter chaos. What sensible person would have advised the German workers to have resorted to armed resistance to the Nazis? They would certainly have been shot down like rats.

Thus it is desirable to point out that even if I am not able to give an entirely satisfactory answer to Professor Ward's questions, I am in no worse position than advocates of class warfare. Critics of Socialist strategy might well turn their eyes away occasionally from class war in rural Russia to industrial Germany, or even to Italy. Unless the ruling class bungles so badly that the productive system ceases to function, or unless it completely loses popular support, it cannot be overthrown without prolonged warfare, since all the odds are in its favor. The prospect of a revolutionary overthrow of Mussolini or even of Hitler is now extremely remote.

WITH these observations as a background, I will express the opinion that in industrial lands like Germany, England and the United States the Socialists' strategy is at least as effective *in a crisis* as that of the Communists, and far more likely *in the long run* to succeed in creating a just society. If and when the Socialists are able to build a sufficiently powerful labor movement, on the one hand, and to win parliamentary control of government, on the other, they will be able to abolish private property in the chief instruments of production and to bridge the gulf between the rich and the poor. Until that time the workers will continue to be ground under the heels of exploiters. And if the observation is offered that decades must elapse before final success can crown the efforts of Socialists, my reply is to the effect that even a longer stretch of time will be required before a just social order can be created in the United States by violent class war. It is easier to win the American working class to socialism than to communism, and the former road leads more surely and swiftly to an approximation of equality of privilege. The peoples of the earth fought the most calamitous war of history under the insane delusion that it was a war to end war. Let us not be destroyed by the equally mad obsession that classes can be eliminated and justice established by violent class warfare.

Even if the odds against the success of a pacifist-socialist program of economic deliverance are ten to one, I prefer to put my energies behind that remaining chance, rather than commit myself to the self-defeating method of violent class war or resign myself to the inevitability of a cataclysmic destruction of capitalism and the hope that a just society will emerge from the ashes.

### Congressman Talks of Revolution

On the floor of the House, on March 15, Representative Cross, of Texas, discussed the silver question and the general state of the Union in the following tone: "Why do our manipulating money barons continue to intimidate and frighten us by propaganda, through press, mail and radio? Have we not been generous in legislation for them? Have they forgotten the French Revolution with its guillotine, its Dantons and Robespierres? Russia with her Lenins and Stalins? There is a Mussolini in Italy, a Hitler in Germany, while in America 'coming events are casting their ominous shadows before.' When the storm breaks, it will be too late then, and there will be no cellars in which to hide. Those who oppose this measure are blinded by near-sighted greed, and if the golden scales would but fall from their eyes they of all men would be here pleading for its passage."

### 2,118 Boxes of Treasures

More than two thousand boxes of priceless treasures from the Peiping Museum have been sent to Pukow for safekeeping, forestalling the possibility of their seizure by Japanese invaders, reports the *China Critic*.

### Freedom Under Fascism

In commenting upon a letter just received from Italy, the *Manchester Guardian* on March 10 said editorially: "One by one, throughout the world, the last gleams of the lamp of personal liberty seem to be going out among the nations who once walked by its light. . . . For this must be the inevitable consequence of the compulsory membership in the Fascist party which is now to be enforced on all members of the teaching staff at every Italian university. The decree of 1931 compelling every lecturer and professor to take an oath of allegiance to the Fascist regime was, as this letter says, bad enough. . . . But at least passive endurance was possible under it; having passed the required test, a sound biochemist might then devote himself happily to biochemistry. But under this new ordinance the same biochemist will be expected, under pain of heavy penalties, to attend his local party meetings and otherwise show himself a stout propagandist in the cause of the corporate State."

### Saloons and Movies

Carl Laemmle, President of the Universal Pictures Corporation, in an address to members of his industry, recently expressed himself in this language concerning the prospective return of the saloon: "A large part of the money which will go to saloons for beer, and beer taxation, will come out of the movie business. . . . You and I have got to fight the return of the saloon as we would a pestilence. . . . The saloon will not create one single new dollar of money. It will simply mean that the dollar which has been spent on the movies and on semi-luxuries and even on necessities will be, in part, spent somewhere else. That part of it will be lost to you and me."

### Arab Non-Coöperation

The Arab Executive of Palestine has recently announced the adoption of a policy of non-coöperation with the British in protest against the refusal of the mandatory power to forbid the sale of Arab lands to Jews or to place further restrictions on Jewish immigration. Non-coöperation is to take the form of refusal to pay taxes and a boycott of British goods, reports *Current History*.

### Wandering Boys

To give point to discussion of how to treat America's homeless youth, Pioneer Youth of America will give revival performances of *The Road to Life*, Soviet film showing how the U. S. S. R. solved a similar problem.

### Rumanian Despotism

Under the pretext of a "state of siege" the Socialist activities and headquarters have been closed down in the Rumanian districts of Prahova, Galatz, Czernowitz and in other regions throughout the country.

### Hungarian Socialists Forge Ahead

Even under the severest repression of recent years in Hungary, a semi-terrorism which has, according to the Labor and Socialist International reports, eventuated in 154 cases of beating by gendarmerie of Social-Democrats for no other reason than their political faith, not to mention numerous acts of official suppression, the Hungarian Socialist Party has during the past year added more than ten thousand new members and increased the circulation of its journal by 26,000 new subscriptions. The Party, at its recent congress, was compelled in view of the governmental attitude, to devote the major portion of its deliberations to matters concerned with strategy.

### Marx Barred From Radio

The authorities in Switzerland, which have been swinging more and more toward a policy of reaction in recent weeks, would not permit a broadcast from the Zürich station by the Socialist Chief Justice of that city. In the midst of class hatred in fascist countries around Switzerland and the growth of it within Switzerland itself, declares the Labor and Socialist International in *International Information*, the Department of Posts and Telegraphs, which controls the federal radio, replied to the request for the broadcast in the following terms: "It assuredly cannot be denied that Karl Marx and Marxism are a subject that arouses the liveliest political emotions both for and against. Nor can there be any doubt that a glorification of the originator of class hatred comes, both in its purpose and its effects, under the heading of political party propaganda. . . ."

### Yergan Gets Spingarn Medal

Max Yergan, American Y. M. C. A. secretary who has worked for ten years among the native students of South Africa, has been awarded the nineteenth Spingarn medal, for 1932, the committee announced this week. The committee statement says: "He is a missionary of intelligence, tact and self-sacrifice, representing the gift of coöperation and culture which American Negroes may send back to their Motherland; and he inaugurated last year an unusual local movement for inter-racial understanding among black and white students." Mr. Yergan is expected in America in April and will receive the medal at the N. A. A. C. P. annual conference in Chicago, June 27-July 2.

### For Soviet Recognition

An independent Committee for Recognition of Soviet Russia has been formed "to stimulate public opinion throughout the country to urge the government of the United States to recognize Soviet Russia officially without delay." Margaret Lamont is executive secretary of the new committee. The advisory council of the committee includes William Allan Nielson, president of Smith College; William Allen White, famed editor; Franz Boaz, world-noted anthropologist; Morris R. Cohen, philosopher; John Haynes Holmes, pastor of the Community Church, New York; Prof. Robert Morss Lovett; George S. Counts, educator; Fannie Hurst, author; Quincy Howe, editor of *The Living Age*; Lincoln Steffens, author; Harry Elmer Barnes, writer; Sherwood Anderson, author; Elmer Rice, playwright; William Zorach, artist; Dr. Frankwood E. Williams, psychiatrist; and many others.

# Headlines

## Mexican Liberals

Recently formed in Mexico, according to *Land and Freedom*, is an association, called the "Union de Veteranos de la Revolucion," which embodies in its political and economic program proportional representation and the principles of Henry George. The group contains prominent doctors, editors, authors, generals, lawyers and other professional men.

## College Girls Boycott Japan

Nearly 400 girl students at Smith College have pledged themselves not to buy Japanese goods while Nippon's imperialist armies continue invading China, and have appointed an Anti-War Committee of 13 to make their pledges effective.

## One Chaplain Worth 100 Soldiers

The *Army and Navy Journal* on March 11 published an article by the Chief of Chaplains, Colonel Julian E. Yates, revealing the entanglement of the chaplaincy with militarism: "Armies and navies constitute the court of final appeal in the material defense of our civilization. . . . When the patriotism of the armed defenders of the nation is a spiritual emotion and not a devastating passion, these defenders when called into sanguinary conflict will be chivalrous crusaders and not brutal conquistadors. Armies and navies need the sustaining and corrective power of religion. The chaplain is an indispensable factor in the military service from every standpoint. Strategists like to appraise him in terms of military advantage. Some commanders go so far as to say of him, 'We count our chaplain as good as a hundred men in a fight, because the men fight so much better when he's with them.'"

## Afforestation in Britain

The British Forestry Commission has inaugurated a ten-year plan of planting annually 20,000 acres of young trees.

## Single Tax in Denmark

Four seats in the Danish Folksting or parliament were won at the recent election by the Single Tax Party in a straight contest.

## Ten States Have Ratified

The assumption that the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution was dead may have been premature. On March 21 Ohio became the tenth state to ratify, joining Oregon, Washington, North Dakota, Arkansas, Arizona, California, Wisconsin, Montana, and Colorado. It now appears possible that some of the 25 states which have already gone on record against it may reconsider their votes.

## Denver Theaters' Lockout

Arbitrarily decreeing that employees must either accept drastic wage cuts and lowered working standards or give up their jobs, the Paramount and the Denver, Publix Theater Corporation movie houses, have locked out union men. Protests made by employees to the state industrial commission demanding enforcement of the law requiring a 30-day notice before changing working conditions or wages and providing for compulsory arbitration of a dispute, were unavailing. A statewide strike affecting all Colorado moving picture houses operated by the Publix Corporation is threatened as the result of the decision of the receiver for the bankrupt theater chain to enforce drastic wage cuts. One of the demands of the receiver was for a 66 2/3 per cent wage cut for operators and 38 per cent for stagehands.

## Power Profiteering

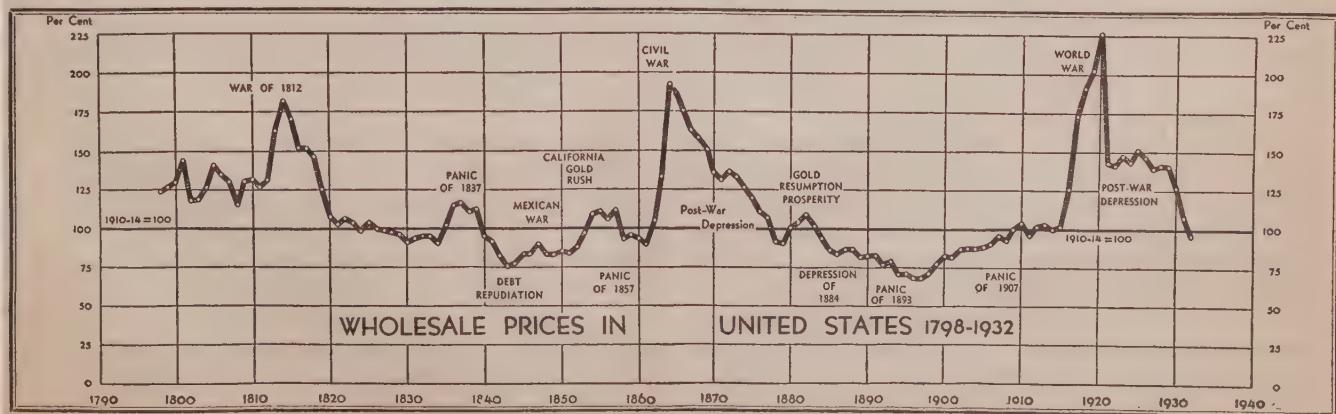
Senator Kenneth McKellar in a recent radio address on Muscle Shoals shed some light on the Alabama Power Co. This company has managed to "rent the plant for comparatively nothing." It paid to the government about one-fifth of a cent per kilowatt and it sells this current within a hundred yards of the power plant for 12 cents a kilowatt.

## P. M. A. Wage Pact

The scale committee of the Progressive Miners of America and representatives of the Illinois Coal Producers Association, after two weeks' negotiations, have tentatively agreed upon extension of the prevailing wage scale for a period of two years. The recommendations of the scale committee are subject to referendum vote of the P. M. A. membership. Concessions in working conditions favorable to the miners marked results of the scale committee negotiations. President Pearcy of the P. M. A., commenting on the new wage pact, said an extension of two years would enable the new union to root itself more firmly in the industry. "We know that the fundamental evils which cause untold misery and distress to our people have not been overcome. However, I feel that this agreement gives our organization a breathing spell for further entrenchment."

## Indiana Bars Jim Crow

Indiana now has a state law providing that contractors doing work for the state must not discriminate against workers of any race or color who apply for jobs. Governor Paul V. McNutt signed the bill March 11. The bill was introduced by Representative Henry J. Richardson and was modeled on one supplied by the national office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.



—From *Bradstreet's Weekly*

# Who Are the Defeatists?

RALPH H. READ

CURRENT happenings indicate that many religious leaders are more than ordinarily confused in their thinking. Each new thought transition in history is accomplished by intellectual confusion, but today that confusion is augmented by the speed of the contemporary scene. This is illustrated by the common accusation that a man is either a pessimist or a defeatist who is merely determined to face reality. It raises the question as to what constitutes defeatism and thrusts to the front the further question as to who the defeatists are. We will discuss here in broader outline the real nature of a defeatist's outlook.

The common religious thesis is that the world can be made better only by the power of love. Brotherhood may be delayed but is possible as soon as enough people have changed hearts and will agree to be brothers. It is assumed that certain attitudes are in harmony with Jesus' teachings and other attitudes are not. This is assumed and not debated, though the utter change in conditions since Jesus' day makes it impossible to know what he would do in any given situation. The inherent goodness of human nature is taken for granted and little allowance is made for its badness. Anyone who does not believe in the easy triumph of the good in human nature or in the world or anyone who wishes to face realistically the evil of the world, in order that it may be overcome, may discourage and is therefore barred from the counsels of the godly.

This is illustrated by a committee meeting that the writer attended in a certain large city. The committee was engaged in setting up a program for a conference of the denomination. Certain men were instantly written off the list as possible speakers because they would not inspire with hope and optimism the church people who would listen, and others were given favorable attention because they probably would speak the encouraging word.

The above, to my mind, constitutes real defeatism. The defeatist is not the man who looks at the evil in the world and then passes a distasteful or dark verdict, for such a verdict may be required. The defeatist is the man who sickens you by his promptness in blinding himself to reality so that he may hear himself sing. The gloomiest and most heart-breaking fact that we know anything about is the unfounded assurance of religious people who sentimentally suppose that love, justice and brotherhood will be realized in society by some vague alchemy of moral ideals, totally abstracted from an honest facing of the bitter

facts of social reality. Life moves by cause and effect, and a belief in magic is of no social value. Only when we fulfill the conditions do we gain the result.

Mrs. Helen Hull, a Philadelphia settlement worker, testified recently before a Senate hearing that multitudes of desperate people concentrate on merely getting food like prowling cats. She pictured whole families run-down physically, sending out children to snatch food, or anything which might be exchanged for food, from markets and pushcarts. She said, "It is a catch-as-catch-can matter of living for such people, an intense concentration on merely getting food. What it does for their souls I dislike to think."

To persuade men, in the face of such conditions, to dream sweet dreams and to cherish false hope while they are thus being crushed and forced slowly and painfully to starvation, either while they are still young or when they are old and broken and unable to protest, is to mock the very name of Christianity.

**A**MERICAN Liberal Christianity is surfeited with hypocrisy and promises little for the future, because any direct and specific approach to the ethical problems of modern life is either well-nigh impossible or tends to an imperfect solution, since the criterion that is followed in meeting any situation is that the situation must be judged as hopeful.

Present religious institutions are no more capable of dealing with the great social problems of modern civilization in anything like an intelligent way than is the Republican Party, not because they are always tied hand and foot to the status quo, but because they cultivate the real defeatism which is doomed to failure, since it refuses even to know the problem it would feign solve. The religious institution is a valuable factor in developing the finer graces and amenities of life but it is scarcely a serious force working for a just solution of the actual social and economic problems that are created by an industrial age.

The defeatists are the optimistic proponents of Liberal Christianity who are still so dependent upon the happy shibboleths and effected platitudes of traditional Christianity, or so silenced by the economic powers to which they owe their existence, that they are ethically impotent to build a better world. The defeatists are the unrepentant Christians of the Twentieth Century, who cannot repent because of their refusal to acknowledge sin or evil, without which repentance is impossible.

# Austria In Crisis

DONALD GRANT

*Vienna, March 14*

**O**VERNIGHT, on March 8, the Austrian government proclaimed a "severe crisis in parliament," prohibited all meetings, confiscated the labor newspaper, used the language and tone of crisis in an official proclamation calling upon the population to trust the government and to back them up. A tense situation at once ensued.

The Republic of Austria is still a constitutional state, the government being in the hands of the conservative Christian Social Party, which has about one-third of the people behind it. The largest party is that of the Social Democrats, now in opposition. The political weather of Austria is symbolized by the existence, in the background, of organized armed citizen forces, the Heimwehr supporting the conservatives, the Schutzbund the Socialists.

The idea of union with Germany (*Anschluss*) is still commonly held here. But those left-wing people who are for it say nothing and write nothing about it at present, when Germany is submerged under fascism. The thought that there may be a Nazi *putsch* now in Austria is shocking to the majority of the people. The possibility of the return of the Hohenzollerns to Berlin antagonizes not only the republicans here, but also the legitimists, who want a Hapsburg in Austria, certainly not a Hohenzollern. It is plain that all these possibilities have combined to form a most perplexing situation for Austrians of all parties except the Nazis.

Seen from Vienna, the situation in Germany up to the time of the election provided what looked like a sure way out of this difficulty. That was to keep close to Bavaria, wholly a Catholic land like Austria herself. In Vienna, as elsewhere, it was confidently expected that a victory for Hitler would drive Bavaria to carry out her threats of restoring the monarchy there by recalling the Wittelsbachs, and maintaining decided opposition to the Nazi regime in Berlin. This would be the final line of defence against Hitler, and Austria could follow it as well as Bavaria, even to the restoration of the monarchy if necessary; only in Austria it would be the realization of the legitimist dream, the return of the Hapsburgs.

That was the situation before the German election. March fifth changed all that. In the voting Bavaria was swept like the rest of the Reich. To crown it all a Nazi commissar and full regime was installed at once in Bavaria and the whole land brought to heel. Following this, the Vienna *Reichspost*, organ of the

Christian Socialists, reporting the conquest, headed its article "Finis Bavariae". The way that had seemed open to the Dollfuss government was now closed. Von Papen had been swept aside; Bavaria submerged. In a short time Austria would probably be inundated.

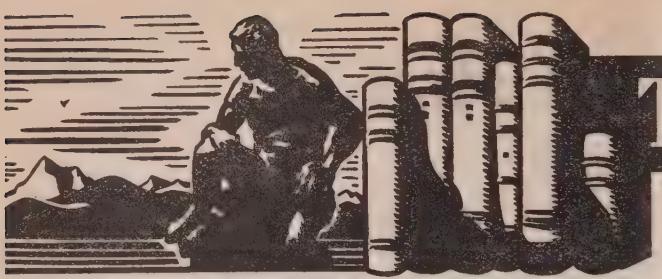
Precisely at this juncture, a debate in the Austrian Parliament showed the government to have a majority of one. An incidental confusion led to the resignation of all three presidents (speakers) of the House. The constitution had not provided for all three resigning at once, and so an emergency arose.

The government acted suddenly. Making use of a war-time decree and declaring that parliament was unable to function, it forbade all meetings, introduced press-censorship, confiscated the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, and declared it a punishable matter by criticism to give offense to an Austrian minister or to a foreign government! Those who know something of the long-standing tension in Austria between Socialists and anti-Socialists will quickly understand how this dictatorial action called forth immediate resistance.

The gravity of the situation may be measured by the following extract from the manifesto addressed by the Social Democratic Party to the workers:

If, however, we should not be able very shortly to recover the right to continue our political struggle on the floor of the House—and the loss of this right is threatened—then we shall not be able to contend further on your behalf through parliament. *In that case you must yourselves defend the Republican Constitution.* If our freedom of speech is thus invaded so that we can no longer advise you or lead you, then you yourselves, on your own initiative, must defend freedom and justice. The immediate necessity therefore is: Be alert, Be calm, Be prepared. Very soon the decisive hour may ring for you.

The issues put so plainly by the leaders of the largest party in the state, and, even more, the tone of this manifesto, convey some impression of the tension here, and the determination of the workers to resist, by all possible means, a *coup d'état*, whether it come from the Christian Socialists or the Nazis. The fact that violence has been avoided up to the present gives ground for hope that a peaceful solution to the internal crisis may be found. But that is by no means certain. In the meantime parliament is to meet, and it will be asked to vote emergency powers to the President of the Republic. The government will then proceed with its newly adopted policy of managing without parliament. Thus the fascist method is applied here in the hope of avoiding Nazi fascism. What the outcome will be nobody can tell.



# The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.

## Germany: Two Views

*Germany Puts the Clock Back.* By Edgar Ansel Mowrer. Morrow Co. \$2.50.

*The German Phoenix.* By Oswald Garrison Villard. Harrison Smith and Robert Haas. \$2.50.

MR. VILLARD, former editor of the *Nation*, and Mr. Mowrer, who is one of the ablest American correspondents in Berlin, have written two volumes on modern Germany which supplement each other admirably.

Mr. Villard gives a comprehensive survey of the contemporary German situation. He emphasizes the point that it is the insane international policies which are rooted in Versailles that have driven the German people to their present desperate attitude, and he is therefore inclined to analyze their vagaries and political idiosyncrasies in a spirit of sympathy. He lifts an exhortatory finger, as it were, and tells the world, "See what a physical and mental wreck you have made of this poor victim of your brutalities." Mr. Mowrer is understanding but not quite so sympathetic. One gains the impression that he is a little weary of the hysteria of German politics. He devotes quite a few chapters to Hitler and his National Socialism, and there is probably nothing published in America which gives a clearer picture of the hollowness, dishonesty, demagogery and political chicanery of the Hitler movement than Mr. Mowrer's pages. It is not a pretty picture of German politics which he draws. The Socialists are revealed in their timidity and futility; the young people of the universities are pictured as romantic reactionaries who hound liberal professors out of the seats of learning; the middle-class masses appear as the dupes of designing and unscrupulous political knaves, and the reactionaries are the only real beneficiaries of all this political confusion and social hysteria.

Mr. Villard's picture of Germany is more inclusive than Mr. Mowrer's. He does not give as clear and vivid an impression of the tumult of political emotions out of which present political forces are compounded, but he takes greater pains to give a comprehensive survey of the socializing process in Germany, of the state of education and religion, of the revolution in morals since the War, of art and the theater, and finally of the press. Mr. Villard's special interest in the latter subject prompts a very informative final chapter, analyzing the German newspapers and journals in all the variety of their political shades. Concerning the question of sex and family morality Mr. Villard is more hopeful than Mr. Mowrer. The latter presents facts which must lead to the conclusion that Germany is indulging not merely in a wholesome relaxation of traditional restraints but in an obsession with sex and a morbid interest in sex perversion which suggests that this aspect of its common life is but one symptom of a general pathological condition.

Mr. Villard allows himself a few minor errors. "It is pleasant

to add," he declares, "that the churches are keeping themselves free from purely partisan politics—excepting the priests." Mr. Villard obviously does not realize to what extent the Protestant clergy of northern Germany have been taken in by the Hitler propaganda and with what pathetic gratitude they have accepted the fascist support of religion. He translates the German word *Genialitaet* by "geniality," but is sufficiently conscious of the difference in meaning to place the German word beside the English one. The two words have no relation in meaning, the German word being derived from *genius* and indicating ability rather than "geniality."

Both of these excellent books fall short to a certain degree of giving a total insight into the German situation, particularly into the increasing tension between the reactionary and radical forces and the almost complete destruction of the liberal middle ground. The reactionary forces are indeed setting the clock back, but they are not accomplishing this without gradually solidifying the forces of the Left. The whole revolutionary situation in Germany is more significant for the future of Western civilization than either book would indicate.

R. N.

## Pacifist or Pacifimaniac

*Inevitable War.* By Lieutenant Colonel Richard Stockton, 6th. The Perth Company. \$7.50.

THE Lieutenant Colonel who produced this eight-hundred page volume wants it understood that he opposes not the sane pacifist but the pacifimaniac. Those who have been working to secure respectability for the term "pacifist" may now consider their labors ended, for this sixth Richard Stockton welcomes pacifists into the patriotic coalition of those who "prepare against defeat in war to insure the safety of the nation, its institutions and its vital policies." His new treason is labelled "pacifimania." It is an ancient affliction going back as far as Seneca, with a quotation from whom the book opens.

According to the author, the basic cause of war is man's moral perversity, which is an abiding quality of human nature. "The inability of the human mind to determine, accurately and invariably, that which is right and that which is wrong. . . . This is the basic cause of war." The profession of soldiery consoles itself thus: "As we cannot remove the basic cause, wars will continue." But the logic of the military mind may, perhaps, be revealed in this startling confession, for which a court-martial would seem to be in order: "I wish every success to those who strive to bring about the radical changes necessary for universal peace." Under the basic cause of man's feeble moral judgment, the author lists a large number of sub-causes growing out of it: ignorance, fear, plunder, land, conquest, honor, revenge, dynastic ambition, racial rivalry, religious intolerance, patriotism, family love, nationalism, self determination, food supply, surplus population,

immigration, shipping, tariffs, colonies, raw materials, international debts, irredentism, radicalism, excessive armament, improper diplomacy, foreign intrigue, propaganda, etc., etc.

In an illuminating chapter on "Radicalism" the author suggests that "Russia may some day be allied with the colored races against the white." But the Lieutenant Colonel should be careful how he carries around a double-edged sword like this one: "Propaganda, written by an ignorant man, does not seem puerile to those who are equally ignorant."

Discouraged Reds are properly rebuked with the assurance that "the seeds of Communistic discontent may fall on barren ground and fail to sprout when all is well, but fertilized by economic and social distress they may grow and blossom overnight." Or was this intended to force Congress to appropriate adequately for the relief of the unemployed? Here is a devastating blow at the professors: "Many college boys—and too many of their professors—have enough knowledge to realize that our social, economic, and political systems are by no means perfect, but lack the experience needed to appreciate the fact that fantastic theories are not the cure." Did the author have in mind, among others, the Columbia professors who are advising the new President?

The author correctly warns that the price of the Open Door in China may be war. He agrees that the Treaty of Versailles forced "intolerable conditions upon the defeated Central Powers." He realistically affirms that the Monroe Doctrine is a war policy, but so, he claims, would its abandonment be. War, in other words, he accepts as axiomatic. Hence: "Armament or disarmament—either is a cause of war. Of the two, the latter is the greater." Millions of Americans will not dispute the author's contention that "peace, as well as war, has its horrors." And, too, wars are no worse than automobiles: "For example, 52,967 American soldiers were killed in action or died of wounds during the eighteen months that the United States was in the World War, while 51,400 persons were killed in automobile accidents during the eighteen months ending December 31, 1930." Industry is twice as deadly as war: "By 1930, in the United States, 100,000 people were killed annually in peace-time industrial accidents."

The author devotes 150 pages to the tragedies of unpreparedness which have overtaken the United States from the revolution for independence to the World War. Pacifism and indifference have cost this country many thousands of lives and billions of dollars, he concludes.

The book contains a discussion of presidential viewpoints on national defense, from George Washington to Herbert Hoover, with liberal quotations, all of which requires another 150 pages. They were all for it, but alas the stubbornness of the American people never permitted them to make adequate defense provisions for the country. The opinions of the chief executives have in every instance been "strongly contrary to the habitual course which the nation has taken." What a people! Thirty lone patriotic presidents elevated to office and then deserted by the electorate that habitually chases off to follow the pacifists.

Sixteen conclusions are drawn on the "Nature of Future War." It took consummate wisdom to reach them. Thus: "Hostilities will frequently commence without formal declaration of war. . . . Any treaties which limit use of gas, tanks, bombing planes, or other effective weapons will be violated. . . . Gas will be used extensively in future war. . . . Thorough training of officers and men will be more important than ever before."

The publishers inform us that five years of labor were invested

by Lieutenant Colonel Stockton in the preparation of this volume. It is an almost perfect mirror of the military mind, and therefore ranks high as source material for pacifists—I beg your pardon, I mean pacifimaniacs.

J. B. MATTHEWS

## Up Gangplanks!

*Three Lands On Three Wheels.* By Jan and Cora Gordon. William Morrow and Co. \$3.00.

*Foot-Loose in the British Isles.* By Harry A. Franck. The Century Co. \$3.50.

*Break Your Lease! Luxury Abroad On a Slim Purse.* By Helen H. Gay. Brentano's. \$2.50.

*Painted Maps.* By Elizabeth Shaw. Lincoln MacVeagh. The Dial Press. \$3.00.

*Gone Abroad.* By Charles Graves. E. P. Dutton and Co. \$3.00.

AS publishers well know, it isn't merely the people who are planning a trip abroad who buy the travel books, although of course these actual wayfarers have to have them. Increasingly—perhaps because of the famine—appeals are made to arm-chair voyagers, and, as this bundle of books makes abundantly plain, the authors too are aiming at the vicarious gadabouts. In fact, there are two ways one may travel and learn little: one is to go under the constant guidance of a conducted tour; the other is to go either with or without a guide, and fail to read up beforehand, as you go, and even—blissful pursuit indeed!—after you have been.

Of all these volumes, the opus by the Gordons is most appealing. In the first place, the Gordons themselves are not stodgy people; they have a sense of humor (and if you haven't, never go off your doorstep) along with a taste for people that is neither forced nor maudlin. And thus their trip of two months in France, one month in England, and six weeks in Ireland, all on a motorcycle, carried them away from the footworn tourist pathways to adventures of that small sort which whet one's appetite for more, as against the robust sort that can happily be foregone.

With Harry Franck's book, one might linger long enough to write a page. Mr. Franck never shines as an observer of social and economic conditions; that requires special training, and his animadversions on the "dole" are rather pathetic except that they will confirm a lot of tourists in their ignorance. But how intimately he has saturated himself with the details that really make British life what it is! And what is it? Charming, on page 10; but on page 11, provoking as no other national life can be. And so it goes throughout the 426 pages. But that is really Britain! Land without serviettes in restaurants (you musn't ask for a napkin, for that signifies an infant's protective garment); land where it takes hours to get served; land of reserve, snobbish schools, terrible wage slavery, though relieved by a leisurely pace; land of feudal institutions and medieval customs; land of labor by tiny children; land of preferred backwardness. Yes, all this! But also land of honesty in politics, land of friendly aid one to another among the masses, land of infinite beauty. Contrasts: land of the Tate gallery and Queen Mary headgear; land of dead Sabbaths and unrestrained youth; land of nationalistic bombast rich with peace passion among the people. Franck's book is the sort calculated to make many an Englishman writhe. Reading it, you chuckle, nod, and then fall to wondering whether the author, after all, isn't full of some of the same American cocksureness of which he accuses so frequently his "Britishers."

Miss Gay's book is a tantalizing piece of work, as she jolly

well intended it to be. Life in the Channel Islands, South France, Florence, North Africa, the Canary Islands, the Virgin Islands, and "much marketed Mallorca" is pleasantly described, and footnoted with brief suggestions on the cost of living, rentals, and relevant data for prospective exiles. The would-be expatriate should be warned, however, that Miss Gay's idea of what slim expenditures are will frequently be at variance with that of most readers of this magazine. Prices have not fallen, either, in many of these places recently as fast as they have here at home. But where there are still depreciated currencies, as in Spain, Belgium and Italy, and where a combination of remoteness and currency depreciation can be found—well, it's one way, perhaps, to beat the breadlines.

Miss Shaw is one of the rare, but increasing, tribe who can pass up Paris at first and take on provincial France with its less sophisticated delights. She, too, hies to North Africa and Mallorca, as well as to Italy, but she also takes in Iceland, Gotland, and Soviet Russia. She doesn't know it, but to anyone touched with the social point of view, she seems pretty much of a barbarian—not because she is critical, but because she had no eyes to see below the surface.

Mr. Graves has eyes, but they don't matter much, for his chief concern is meat and drink. What a trencherman! His book is crudely titled, for he covers only Germany and Belgium. So little is available about the latter bright little land that even his fleshpots can be tolerated for the picture he paints of the rest of Belgian life. Aside from the usual Englishman's fond illusion that the attack on Zeebrugge Mole during the War really blocked it for German submarines, and some minor misinformation on certain rail lines, the author displays an extraordinary facility with detail. But as for the historic interest of Flemish art, or the modern labor sculpture of Meunier, one suspects that to mention it would make him run for a *demi*. His section on Germany is more useful in that it lights up something of the madcap spirit of the post-War years, and this is after all a legitimate interest on the part of the alert traveller. But it can hardly be said that Mr. Graves belongs in the category of travellers whose peregrinations contribute appreciably to the creation of that vague commodity we label international good will. His book is worthy to be listed here mainly because it does, in its way, supply zestful information of a kind that can be appropriated and put to use with less culinary exuberance.

D. A.

## Hungry England

*Hungry England.* By A. Fenner Brockway. Gollancz. 2 s. 6 d.

ANTIQUATED history books are not the only documents that make the mistake of assuming that the life of the upper ten is the life of the nation. Most American guides to England have precisely the same limitations. Of course, that is as it should be, to the mind of the conservative tourist, for all he seeks is the atmosphere of Westminster, of old abbeys and of well-to-do country houses. But occasionally there must be visitors to England, or students remaining in America but curious to know the real life of the English people, who realize how incomplete the orthodox guide books are. For such, Fenner Brockway in his *Hungry England* has done a first-class job.

No one is better qualified to describe the life of British working people than the propagandist for socialism. His work takes him from London to the Tyne, along the valley of the Clyde, through the desolate Welsh mining valleys, and into the grim

textile towns of Lancashire. And wherever he goes there are no artificial barriers to his understanding of the day-to-day problems of the poor. Indeed, he is their social and political doctor. They look to him for advice and remedies. Without restraint all the symptoms of their poverty disease are laid before him. Nor does he receive only an over-darkened and therefore falsified picture. The generous hospitality of his local comrades make that impossible, for the very best they can produce, you may be sure, is prepared for the guest.

In this small book a wealth of intimate detail is provided about how unemployment insurance actually operates. In recent times "the means test" has been the fiercely contended centre of the English scheme. What does "means test" really signify? Fenner Brockway's answer is given, in great detail, from the worker's point of view.

*Hungry England* is not a large book nor an expensive one, but done in a simple straightforward narrative style, it is crammed with striking facts, with an analysis of how millions of British homes are weathering the depression and with a description of the mood and outlook with which they prepare for the future.

JENNIE LEE

## WE RECOMMEND

*Armaments Year Book of the League of Nations. World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. \$3.00.* There is nothing to compare with this standard work, which covers in all the detail that is known the expenditures, strength, categories, etc., of all land armies, navies, and air forces of the planet. The time will come when historians will print sections from this record of human folly for the unbelieving eyes of our descendants, provided there are any. Meantime, there is abundant peace ammunition in its 465 pages.

*Government by Judiciary.* By Louis B. Boudin. William Godwin, Inc. 2 volumes, \$10.00. After presenting a thousand pages of evidence, the author concludes in a notable chapter on "Government by a Few Conservative Men": "This exaltation of property at the expense of liberty is undoubtedly the distinguishing characteristic of our times. . . . We are ready to give now the conclusion which a reading of this history forces upon us. And that is this: That our government is not only preeminently a Government of Men, but that it is, more than the government of any other civilized country in the modern world, a Government of Chance"—in that the point of view of the jurist selected determines the meaning given to the Constitution.

*The Trial of Jeanne d'Arc. Translated by W. P. Barrett. Gotham House. \$4.00.* The literature on Joan of Arc is enormous, ranging all the way from naïve acceptance of the national and religious legend to bitter denunciation and psychoanalytic "wise-cracking". Curiously enough, all information concerning Joan comes from the three trial records in which she figured: the preliminary, the condemnation, and the rehabilitation. We have here a competent translation of the trial of condemnation, to which are added two essays by Pierre Champion. The trial may be read merely as theological bickering or it may illustrate the methods of a court which was intent on finding against the defendant. At any rate, this record is one of the most interesting historical documents in existence, and it is well to have this English version of it.

*American Minority Peoples.* By Donald Young. *Harpers.* \$3.50. An excellent analysis of problems of racial minorities in America, presenting interesting data on the source of the limitations of minority groups, whether in innate endowments or in social disinheritance. The conclusions are confused because the author is not certain whether he should counsel individuals to break rigorously with group prejudices and racial bigotries or to submit to them as inevitabilities of the situation. An excellent bibliography is appended.

*Emergency Work Relief.* By Joanna C. Colcord, William C. Koplovitz and Russell H. Kurtz. *Russell Sage Foundation.* \$1.50. What is being done in 30 communities in various sections of the country, and definite suggestions for action. If we were dictator, we would make every mayor in the country read this book and take an examination on it, which he would have to pass or become unemployed.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### More About Gandhiism

IN the kind editorial review of my pamphlet "Gandhiism vs. Socialism" there were some points which I would like to discuss. Your reviewer wrote that I made "the mistake of implying that Gandhi uses only psychic or ethical persuasion." I admit that I did not in that pamphlet discuss the relative proportions of persuasion and pressure, of the psychic and the physical in Gandhi's method, but in my own thinking and some other writing I had considered that question with care. On the first page of the pamphlet I said, "In a pamphlet like this, one cannot adequately discuss Gandhiism or any other great movement of social, economic and political reform." Hence the reader should not impute too many implications to me merely because he does not find every point mentioned in the pamphlet.

The statement is made in the review that "Boycotts, strikes and civil disobedience are forms of negative physical coercion." I disagree. If, for example, the Indian boycott of foreign cotton cloth is a form of negative physical coercion, then buying such cloth would be positive physical coercion, physically compelling the Lancashire and Japanese mills to work, the ships to sail, and the selling agents to act. If it is negative physical coercion to go on strike, then it is positive physical coercion for the worker to place himself beside the machine and offer to run it, physically compelling the manager to run the factory. If it is negative physical coercion civilly to disobey laws, then it would be positive physical coercion to obey them, physically compelling the government to carry on. Manifestly, these forms of refusal are not physical coercion, either negative or positive. Boycott, strike and civil disobedience are modes of pressure, but they are psychic, not physical. They have physical effects, of course, but so do most psychic processes.

If the pressure exerted by an individual boycotter, striker, or civil disobeyer is not physical, then the mere fact that those refusals are made by a crowd does not make the pressures any more physical, even though it increases the amount of the pressure, makes the pressure more effective and makes the ultimate physical effects more impressive.

Or let us approach the matter from the other end. Most people would say that war is physical coercion or at least attempted physical coercion. But even in war, said Napoleon, "The moral is to the physical as three is to one." General Sir F. Maurice wrote

that war is "an act in which moral and psychological factors have a supreme influence." Captain B. H. Liddell Hart says that in war "The balance between victory and defeat turns on mental impressions and only indirectly on physical blows." If the physical element in war itself is of so much less importance than the psychic factors, then surely it is a considerable exaggeration to describe boycotts, strikes and civil disobedience as physical coercion. The adjective "negative" was added presumably because these acts are refusals and, as such, are negative in character. I feel, therefore, that the adjective "physical" is not accurate to describe the modes of pressure used in Gandhi's method.

Furthermore, I think that the word "coercion" in this context is an exaggeration, or at best ambiguous, and therefore tends to cause inaccurate thinking and mistaken conclusions. As given in the Webster, Century and Oxford dictionaries, the word connotes the idea of compulsion by the use or threat of superior violent physical force, especially in the political usage of the word. To use that word in reference to an Indian boycott maintained by gentle Indian ladies standing with their hands in an attitude of prayer outside the doors of the cloth shops, seems, therefore, inaccurate. Similarly with reference to non-violent strikes and non-violent refusals to obey laws.

With reference to the Indian situation, we learn from history that the British textile industry was originally created by coercing the peasants and craftsmen, forcibly depriving them of their lands by the Enclosures Acts, beating them into submission when they revolted against the newly invented machines, and using intimidation and brutal economic and social pressure to compel them to do the will of their industrial masters. Likewise in India the indigenous textile crafts were reduced to helplessness by British-made tariff restrictions, transport restrictions, and even a considerable amount of violent physical force and terrorism designed to break up hand weaving and thus create a market for British cloth. That was in the late 1700's and early 1800's, but even now a man may be, and many have been, arrested in India merely for starting a weaving or spinning class or wearing homespun cotton cloth. The history of all capitalistic industry proves that it has been initiated and maintained by physical violence of the industrialists. Violence is an intrinsic part of commerce, too, especially foreign commerce. And we know that violence is the basis of the modern state—the expenditures of governments prove it. For this reason it seems to me more accurate to describe boycotts, strikes, and civil disobedience as non-violent forms of resistance to coercion, rather than as being themselves forms of coercion. Coercion means compulsion, and compulsion is successful pressure of a certain kind. At least until the Indian boycott and civil disobedience have finally been successful, it seems to me that they cannot accurately be called coercion. I would, therefore, amend your reviewer's statement to read: "Boycotts, strikes and civil disobedience are forms of negative pressure, psychic in nature but having fairly immediate physical effects."

The editorial goes on to state that "it is mistaken to assume that non-violent resistance is generically different from other forms of coercion." Again I think it is wrong, for several reasons. Non-violent resistance is different from coercion because it respects the personality of the opponent, while coercion does not. In non-violent resistance the resister tries to take upon himself as much as possible whatever suffering there may be involved. That is not the case in coercion. True non-violent resistance, unlike coercion, results finally in converting the purposes and desires (values) of the opponent so that he comes to agree with the resister and has left no sense of frustration. Sometimes, moreover, a difference in de-

gree is so great as to amount to a difference in kind. A dose of one-tenth of a grain of morphine is so very different from a dose of ten grains of morphine in its effect upon the human organism as to constitute a difference in kind. One is an anesthetic and the other is a deadly poison. Like coercion, non-violent resistance may restrict the freedom of its opponents, cause them property loss and perhaps bodily and mental suffering. There is a remote chance that it might unintentionally cause death by reason of economic pressure, but that is only a remote chance. Not even the most rabid British Tory opponent of Gandhi has yet alleged, so far as my fairly extensive reading goes, that Gandhi's movement has caused a single death in Lancashire. On analysis it will be found, I believe, that the only freedoms of the opponent which are restricted by non-violent resistance are some of those which were originally created by his violence and have since been maintained by his violence or threats of violence. The opponent's property rights which get impaired were also created and maintained by his violence. The main point is that the restriction of freedom, the property loss, the suffering, and deaths—or the fear of any of these—caused by non-violent resistance are so very much less than they would be in the case of any form of coercion whose power is equivalent, that the difference between the pressure of non-violent resistance and that of coercion is a difference in kind. That the difference is a difference in kind is shown by the difference in the psychological reactions of the opponent, including both the immediate and final reactions.

In non-violent resistance the slowness of action of the movement, the opportunities it affords to work out moral and eventual material compensations for material losses, the stimulus to the finer qualities of those engaged in the struggle, the appeal to the ideals of the onlookers, the appeal to human unity, and sundry other elements, also tend to make such a movement generically different from coercion.

The persuasion and pressure in Gandhi's method are certainly immense, but they are almost entirely psychic and moral. Much of it is the power of social truth and moral beauty, powers whose operation does not involve fear. We are inclined to forget, until a very wise and very courageous man appears, that in human affairs psychological or moral power is more basic even than economic or political power.

Your reviewer says that "Household industry would aggravate the problems of unemployment in a civilization in which large-scale production is an accomplished fact, with millions of people depending upon it for livelihood." I differ. To me it begins to look as if in this country there soon may be almost as many millions of people depending on large scale production for their unemployment as those who depend upon it for their livelihood. I think household industry, with local trading by barter if need be, may prove to be one of the most important aids for unemployment in this country. It is interesting to note that through the last twelve years of depression in England, village handicrafts have grown very considerably.

"It is useless," continues the review, "to abolish the machine or circumscribe its range. It must be mastered." Gandhi is not proposing to abolish the machine, as I explained in my pamphlet. He does want to circumscribe its range. I suggest that mastery of anything involves circumscribing its range. Mastery of a horse results in circumscribing its range. If I master the English language I learn that words must be used with discrimination, that is, with limits; that certain styles or modes of wording are circumscribed in their effective use. The increasing modern mastery of science has begun to reveal that science has limits beyond which it is not a

valid method of securing truth. Certainly we must master the machine, but that mastery will mean limitations upon the machine.

The reviewer asserts that "Small-scale organization instead of a highly centralized one . . . does not answer a single problem for a highly developed and completely centralized economic system. . . Centralization is an inevitable part of a technological age." A good many engineers, such as Steinmetz, for instance, differ with him. A number of architects and city planners—Frank Lloyd Wright, for example—believe that decentralization has got to come and is on its way. Quite a few industrialists agree with Ford that industry should be decentralized, and are proceeding to do so. I respectfully submit that the line "We cannot turn back the wheels of time" is a cliché which obscures clear thought and incidentally overlooks the spiral theory of history. The word "back" begs the whole question.

Your reviewer has not contradicted one of the central statements of my pamphlet, that the real control of society does not come from governments, banks, laws, or ruling classes, but from schemes of values. It seemed to me that that idea was substantiated in the article by John Middleton Murry entitled "Which Dictator?" in the January 4th issue of *THE WORLD TOMORROW*. If your reviewer agrees with me that values are the real control, then I urge that the values involved in the five devices described in my pamphlet: money, physical violence, social divisions and flatteries, parliamentarism, and large-scale organization, are just as potent in the United States as in India, and therefore that a program which deprives those values of their power in India will deprive them of their power in this country. Of course there must be adaptation to local conditions, but general principles may remain the same.

The review states that "Society cannot regulate industry when industry is in possession of the significant power which controls the political organs of society." But is it not true that capitalistic industry could only come into being by the establishment of an unlimited market for its goods, a free market for labor, and control of sources of raw material? And were not all those three elements created by the use of violence, and are they not maintained by the use of violence? If then, we can learn a method which deprives violence of its customary power, cannot society then control industry? There are, of course, other elements in the power of industry, but Gandhi's method controls many of the most important of those, also, as I tried to explain in my pamphlet.

The reviewer seems to say that we in America must accept large-scale industry and centralization and omnipresent machinery because they are accomplished facts. Well, capitalism is also an accomplished fact, yet the reviewer apparently wants to get rid of it, and trusts that its abolition is within the realm of possibility. It makes me wonder whether large-scale organization is not one of the things that he really values and wants to retain. If it is, it will clarify thinking if he will say so rather than argue that it cannot be ended because it now exists.

There are certainly very great differences between the agrarian civilization of India and the industrial civilization of the West. Having had three years of corporation law practice and seven years of factory inspection and work in labor relations in this country before my four years in Indian villages, I realize the differences. I agree that if Gandhi's methods were applied here there would have to be adaptations and changes of detail. Nevertheless, I believe that the principles of the method would apply and be amazingly effective.

Boston, Mass.

RICHARD B. GREGG

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

## Study Tour to Russia

REV. L. L. Dunnington, pastor of Endion Community Methodist Church of Duluth, Minn., will conduct a study tour to Russia next summer under the auspices of "The Open Road." Conferences with political leaders will be held in Stockholm, Moscow, Warsaw and Berlin. Russia will be traversed from Lenin-grad south to the Black Sea. The total cost of the trip will be \$383. The group will sail from New York July 6 and return August 27. Mr. Dunnington was in Russia for a year at the time of the Revolution in 1917 and has conducted several tours since that time. Those interested may obtain detailed information by writing to him at Endion Community Methodist Church, Duluth, Minnesota.

## For Seattle Readers

A TELEGRAM from Seattle requests us to announce that a WORLD TOMORROW dinner is being arranged for Sunday evening, April 9. Mr. Frank Crosswaith, well-known Socialist lecturer, will be the speaker. Further information may be secured from Professor F. B. Farquharson, 2126 East 47th Street, Seattle, Washington. It will be advisable to make advance reservations with Professor Farquharson.

The suggestion has been made that similar gatherings might be arranged by interested friends in other cities.

## Who's Who in This Issue

Eduard C. Lindeman, professor in the New York School for Social Work, is the author of "The Meaning of Adult Education."

Donald Grant has been living in Europe for several years and has contributed articles to American journals on conditions abroad.

Ralph H. Read is minister of the Hollis Avenue Congregational Church in Bellaire, L. I.

J. B. Matthews is executive secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Jennie Lee is one of the leaders of the British Independent Labor Party.

## World Tomorrow Radio Hour

Station WEVD

Thursday

1300K—231M

April 6—8:45 P.M.

Speaker: Devere Allen

WEVD University of the Air features:

Philosophy, Tuesdays, 10:15 P.M.

Psychology, Wednesdays, 10:15 P.M.

Hendrik Van Loon, Fridays, 8:15 P.M.

Debates and Symposia, Sundays, 10:00 P.M.



WONDERS, I know, will never cease; and Dr. Irving Langmuir of the General Electric research laboratory has succeeded in detecting a single atom of caesium in a cubic meter, or 35 cubic feet, of space. It won't be long now before somebody of similar ingenuity, with machines of equal sensitivity, will discover something good about Adolf Hitler. It may be worth remembering, however, that many people in the United States shared in the movement of American Hitlerism which swept across our own country in 1923 and 1924. Started by a Dearborn, Michigan, automobile manufacturer, our anti-Semitism finally wrapped itself up in a glorified bed sheet, took the name of the Ku Klux Klan, attacked Catholics and Negroes too, and was off to a swell pogrom on more than one occasion. I have had Methodist ministers sing its praises into my reddening ear; I have heard labor agitators uphold it in one breath while decrying in the next the abuses of the working man; and, all in all, I seem to recognize as familiar phrases a great many of the Hitler shibboleths.

That constitutes no excuse, of course, for the goings-on in Hitlerland. Especially resentful was I about the raid on Einstein's Caputh domicile, the search for arms, and the discovery of a bread knife only. I don't think Frau Einstein would appreciate the suggestion that under her capable fingers that bread knife might be carelessly handled and thus fall into the category of weapons. I can recall with a too-glamorous memory the beautiful sunny afternoon of a German summer on which another American and I and a congenial German lass descended from the bus out of Potsdam, turned up a hill road through forests of slender beeches, stopped in the back yard of a woodsy house for a bit of tea and German cake, then walked up to the Einstein home—which is precisely as pretentious as a Detroit artisan's suburban cottage—and spent a delightful time. I even remember that Frau Einstein, whose handling of the bread knife was beyond criticism, gave us the raspberries—but only, *Gott sei dank*, in a literal sense and covered with sugar—while we laid deep plots of pacifism that had no relation to the subsequent Nasti dictatorship. Fresh from the unified field theory that he had temporarily laid down amid the atoms, equations, violin pieces, cranks' letters, and curved chunks of space upstairs, the savant entered into the mood of serious though informal *gemütlichkeit* that gave me one of the happiest three hours of my life. And when the time came around to go, pictures were taken at the kindly suggestion of Frau Einstein, and posterity's place for her husband was made secure by the snapshot taken of the scientist arm in arm with Eccentricus. The only trouble was, as I later learned to my chagrin, the film had stuck in the camera and all the pictures were duds. Well, as I have often said, Einstein will have to hurry up and do something important so his name will not be lost to coming generations.

NOT the least amusing thing in a situation which contains plenty of irony, is Poland's protest over twenty-five attacks on Polish Jews. The Polish authorities, who have been waging a relentless persecution against Jews in Poland, appear to regard this sort of thing as a special prerogative of their own. On the other hand, some of the American Jews have been counselling moderation in anti-Hitler protests, because, after all, many of the Jews who have been jailed, beaten, killed, or mildly tortured by the Nastis were persecuted, not on account of their race, but because they were Communists or Socialists. That sort of persecution, you see, is expected. A lot of the current anger is like a pin-pointed in one direction and headed in another.

*Eccentricus*



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